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COHEN

REPORT ON THE POGROMS
IN POLAND

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A REPORT

ON THE

POGROMS IN POLAND

BY

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AUTHOR OF "JEWISH LIFE IN MODERN TIMES,"

"THE RUHLEBEN PRISON CAMP," ETC.

CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION,

175, PICCADILLY, W. 1.

APRIL, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

NOTE.

A summary of this Report was delivered at a public meeting, under the chairmanship of Lord Parmoor, K.C.V.O., on April 9th, 1919, at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, and the following resolution, proposed by Mr. Hermann Landau, O.B.E., and seconded by Mr. J. D. Kiley, M.P., was passed unanimously :—

That this Public meeting, after hearing the Report of Mr. Israel Cohen, expresses its profound condemnation of the pogroms committed against the Jews in Poland and Galicia, and calls upon the British Government to insist upon the creation of constitutional safeguards for the free and peaceful development of the Jewish people in the Polish Republic; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the Secretariat of the Peace Conference.

THE
POGROMS IN POLAND.

REPORT BY ISRAEL COHEN,
Special Commissioner of the Zionist Organisation.

AN ACCOUNT OF MY MISSION.

THE news that reached London last November concerning pogroms in Poland and Galicia aroused so much alarm that the British Government issued a warning against further excesses. The newly formed States in Eastern Europe were solemnly admonished that if they indulged in bloodshed at the birth of their independence they could not reckon upon the help of the Western Powers in the task of their construction. But despite this admonition, further messages arrived of more serious outrages against the Jews in Galicia. The leaders of the Zionist Organisation in London thereupon resolved to send a Special Commissioner to investigate the situation, but owing to the difficulties of travel at the present time, and having regard to the nature of the intended mission, the consent of the British Foreign Office was necessary. Dr. Weizmann interviewed Sir George Clerk on the subject, and proposed that I should undertake the mission. Sir George Clerk approved of the proposal, and Mr. Balfour readily agreed to provide the necessary facilities. I had visited Galicia previously in 1906, and had ever since closely followed the Jewish question in that country as well as in Russian Poland, so that I was not altogether unfamiliar with the sphere of my projected inquiry.

I left London on December 6th, 1918, and reached Cracow on January 1st, 1919. The delay was partly due to the bad railway communications on the Continent, partly to an enforced wait of eight days at Berne for the Austrian visa, and partly to a slight attack of the "grippe." I was supplied by Mr. August Zaleski, head of the Polish Mission in Berne, with introductions

to the principal members of the Polish Government, and I arranged with a friend in Zurich to forward him telegrams for transmission to London and the Hague. During my stay in Vienna (December 26-31) I spoke with several fugitives from the Galician pogroms, including Dr. Max Rosenfeld, of Przemyśl, whose death early in February prevented him from taking his seat in the Polish Parliament. I also spoke with Dr. Armand Kaminka, the Secretary of the "Israelitische Allianz," who informed me of the funds received for the relief of victims of the outrages, and of the steps taken for their distribution. I travelled from Vienna to Cracow with Dr. E. Schmorak, who had been sent, together with Dr. Parnass, by the Jewish Relief Committee of Lemberg to confer with the Jewish National Council in Vienna on the question of relief measures.

I stayed in Cracow from the 1st to the 8th January, during which period I had interviews with Count Lasocki, President of the Polish Liquidation Commission (the Government of Galicia), M. Noel, Principal Secretary of the Commission, M. Ignacz Daszynski, leader of the Polish Socialist Party, Professor Godlewski and Professor Wladislaw Nathanson, of the Cracow University, and other leading Poles in Cracow. I also had several interviews with Dr. Osias Thon, President of the Jewish National Council of West Galicia, and with Dr. Zimmerman, on the questions both of the pogroms in West Galicia and of the solution of the Jewish question in Poland, and I was supplied by them with considerable material and information. I also received a deputation from the Jews of Javorzno, and was appealed to by the wife of Dr. Rossberger, President of the Jewish National Council of Jaroslau, who had been interned near Cracow, to intervene with the authorities on his behalf. I had intended leaving Cracow, after a day's stay, for Lemberg, where by far the worst pogrom took place, but, as I was expecting the arrival of the British Mission to Poland, I was advised both by my Cracow friends and by Dr. Schmorak to postpone my journey to Lemberg in order that I might see whether I could not travel thither in company with the British Mission. During my stay in Cracow I paid a visit to the town of Chrzanow,

1½ hours' journey by rail, where a pogrom had taken place on November 11th, and in addition to obtaining full information concerning the pogrom and subsequent developments I also inspected several houses and shops that had been looted and damaged, and spoke with their occupants.

Hearing that Colonel Wade, the head of the British Mission to Poland, had arrived in Warsaw, I left Cracow on the night of the 7th January, reaching Warsaw on the morning of the 8th. I stayed in Warsaw until the 23rd, and during this period I kept in close and constant contact with the Jewish National Council, and had interviews with several members of the Polish Government as well as with the members of the British Mission. I had two interviews with M. Paderewski, the first on January 9th, before he became a member of the Government; and the second on January 22nd, after he had been appointed Prime Minister. The other official personages with whom I spoke were General Pilsudski, the head of the Polish State, M. Wassilevski, Foreign Minister (since retired and appointed a Delegate to the Peace Conference), Dr. Jodko, Principal Secretary of the Political Section of the Foreign Office, Colonel Wrochinski, War Minister, and Count Sczeptycki, Chief of the General Staff. I also had a long conversation with M. Grabski, leader of the National Democrats, who, although not holding any official position, wields considerable influence as the adviser of M. Paderewski, upon whom he is in constant attendance. I was received by all these personages, as I had been by their colleagues in Cracow, quite readily. They were all willing to discuss the Jewish situation with me and tried to impress upon me that the Government wished to act justly towards the Jews.

With the members of the Jewish National Council in Warsaw I discussed both the outrages upon Jews that had taken place in Congress Poland and also suggestions for a satisfactory solution of the Jewish question, and I obtained from them considerable enlightenment and information. M. I. Grünbaum, Secretary of the National Council, drew up a long Memorandum on the Jewish question in Poland, which I translated into

English, and copies were presented both to the British and American Missions in Warsaw. I had an interview of three-quarters of an hour on January 11th with Colonel Wade, who related to me various Polish charges against the Jews, to which I replied. I asked him if I could accompany him to Lemberg, but he said that he must travel alone as he must preserve the appearance of impartiality. I had several talks with Mr. Richard Kimens, Assistant Commissioner of the British Mission, and Mr. Rowland Kenney, the Secretary, and I drew up for them a summary account of the pogroms in Poland.

I left Warsaw on the night of January 23rd for Cracow, which I reached the following morning. I met there the four Zionist hostages, Dr. Leon Reich, Dr. Michael Ringel, Dr. Alexander Hausmann, and Dr. Tennenblatt, who had been transferred ten days before from Baranow to Cracow, where they were kept under Police surveillance and had to report every other day to the police authorities. They asked me to take steps for their complete liberation, as no charge of any kind had been formulated against them. On the night of the 25th I left for Lemberg, which I reached the following morning. On the afternoon of the 26th I was welcomed at a gathering of leading Zionists in the flat of the acting chairman, Dr. Gerson Zipper, and our speeches were punctuated by the boom of the cannons outside the city. I paid visits to the Jewish Relief Committee (officially styled "Rettungs Komitee für die Pogrom-Opfer"), to the Registration Bureau (where detailed records were kept of all data connected with the pogrom), to the large soup-kitchen where over 2,000 persons were fed daily, and to the premises of a new Jewish school that was being opened in consequence of the refusal of Jewish children to attend Polish schools. I was taken round the Jewish quarter, which had suffered so severely in the pogrom, by Dr. Schaff, who carefully explained to me how the riot was organised, and we visited not only the streets where Jewish houses and a synagogue had been entirely destroyed by fire, but also synagogues, houses, and shops that had been badly damaged by the rioters. I had two interviews with Dr. Tobias Ashkenazi, President of the Jewish

Relief Committee, and from him, as well as from Dr. Schaff and Mr. Eisler (Commandant of the disbanded Jewish Militia) I obtained much detailed information concerning the pogrom. Dr. Israel Münzer gave me a Memorandum on the subject of Jewish educational requirements in Lemberg, and asked me to help in raising funds.

On the 28th I saw Colonel Wade and Colonel Smyth at the Potocki Palace, and in the course of a conversation of nearly two hours discussed the causes and character of the pogrom as well as the question of national minority rights for the Jews. At the request of the Central Committee of the East Galician Federation I addressed a letter to Colonel Wade, asking him to certify that Dr. Reich, Dr. Ringel, Dr. Hausmann and Dr. Tennenblatt had been elected as delegates to the Zionist Conference to be held in London on February 11th, and also to obtain permission for them to leave for Poland. I left this letter with Colonel Smyth, together with a letter from the Central Committee of the East Galician Zionist Federation to the Polish Army Command, and on the 29th, at mid-day, I departed from Lemberg. I intended making a day's stay at Przemyśl, but some Polish fellow-passengers in the train strongly advised me not to stop there owing to the general insecurity. I therefore stopped at Jaroslau, in a Jewish hotel which had been looted in a pogrom two months before, and on the 30th I returned to Cracow. I again saw Dr. Reich, Dr. Ringel, Dr. Hausmann and Dr. Tennenblatt, who complained of being placed under police surveillance, although there was no charge against them, and asked me once more to secure their complete liberation.

On February 1st I left Cracow for Vienna, but owing to the Polish-Czechish war that had broken out a few days before, I was compelled to make a *détour via* Oswiecim, Kattowitz and Oderberg. During the enforced wait of a few hours at Oswiecim I visited Dr. Maurice Goldberg, chairman of the local Zionist Society, who informed me of attacks that had been made in the town during the previous week upon Jews in various synagogues by Polish roughs, and who took me to the Jewish cemetery to show me the serious damage done by

Poles to a very large number of tombstones, which had been overturned, broken, and dragged about.

I reached Vienna on the evening of February 2nd, and Zurich on February 7th. I was informed by my friend at Zurich that he had received all my telegraphic messages on the Jewish situation in Poland, which I had despatched partly from Warsaw and partly from other places, and that he had transmitted them to the Zionist Bureau, London, and The Hague. He had received acknowledgments from The Hague, but none from London. *I afterwards learned that only one of my telegrams had been received by the Zionist Bureau in London.*

During my stay in Berne I spoke to M. Zaleski and Count Szembek, of the Polish Mission, and informed them of my impressions of the Jewish situation in Poland. At their request I submitted several suggestions for improving the situation, which they undertook to telegraph to Warsaw. Among these suggestions were the publication by the Polish Government of a condemnation of the pogroms, the taking of immediate steps for the punishment of the guilty, and the granting of adequate compensation to the victims.

EXTENT AND ORIGIN OF THE POGROMS.

The principal object of my investigations was the extent and origin of the pogroms. I found that the excesses had been far more numerous than I had believed, and that they were distributed over a vast area, including the whole of the Galician territory from Cracow to Lemberg and various districts in Congress Poland. There were not fewer than 130 towns, townlets and villages in which anti-Jewish outrages had occurred, so that, in view of the bad state of railway communication, it would have been manifestly impossible to visit them all, and make an inquiry on the spot in each case, in anything less than a year. Fortunately the outrages varied in gravity; whilst some of them included murder, arson, and rape, in addition to looting and assaults, most of them were confined to looting and assaults alone. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I had to content myself with visits and inquiries in the principal centres affected, but I everywhere

received circumstantial and mutually corroborating accounts of the disorders in neighbouring places. Moreover, fresh excesses occurred after my arrival in Poland, such as those at Wloclawek and Janow, so that the original scope of my inquiry was widened, whilst the task of gathering and recording information was hampered by the frequency with which I was called upon to intervene in various cases of injustice towards Jews. I nevertheless succeeded in collecting such a mass of evidence of the persecution of the Jews on Polish soil that even if only one-tenth of it were true there would be sufficient ground for demanding drastic measures of reform. I found, indeed, that the number of deaths had been somewhat exaggerated in the first reports of certain pogroms, doubtless due to the panic-stricken condition of the fugitives from whom these reports emanated; but on the whole, the assaults were much more systematic, vindictive and destructive than I had been led to believe from Press accounts. There was an impression in certain circles at the time when I left London that these accounts might have been due to German or Austrian propaganda, but I had not been in Poland long before I was convinced that the attempt to discredit the stories of the pogroms as the product of enemy malice was an ingenious manoeuvre on the part of the Poles and of their friends in Western Europe to avert attention from a tremendous scandal. It was only natural that the responsible authorities of the Polish State, desirous of retaining the sympathies of the Allied Powers and their subjects in the difficult political task that lay before them, should be at pains to conceal or minimise the gravity of the excesses that had accompanied the birth of the new Republic.

*Causes of the
Pogroms.*

The outrages in Galicia began immediately after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the withdrawal of Austrian authority, whilst those in Congress Poland likewise began after the cessation of German rule. In unimportant townlets, as in the great city of Warsaw, the emotions of the Poles on securing their long-awaited independence found expression in an extensive outbreak of anti-Jewish ex-

cesses, to which the nearest parallel is the epidemic of pogroms that swept over Russia in 1905 and 1906. But, unlike the pogroms in Russia, those in Poland could manifestly not have been organised by any central authority, since they began before any such authority was generally recognised. On the contrary, the rapid spread was favoured by the absence of a strongly organised Government. Their genesis was due to a long-existing antagonism on the part of the Poles towards the Jews, arising partly from economic and partly from political causes, which had been kept in check as long as both nations were equally subject to another Power. The tenacity with which the Jews clung to their own national culture had made the Poles, whether under Russian or Austrian rule, look upon them as an obstacle to the realisation of their national aspirations, whilst the existence of a large Jewish commercial and trading class aroused among the Poles, who desired to create such a class of their own, a feeling of rivalry and irritation. The feeling of antagonism was exacerbated during the war, for whilst the Poles aimed at the restoration of their independence, the Jews, who were harassed by the Polish bureaucracy in Galicia and suffered from a severe boycott in Russian Poland, started long before the war under the zealous guidance of M. Dmowski, the leader of the National Democrats, continued loyal towards the sovereign State. When the Russians overran Galicia, the Poles accused the Jews of having been friendly towards Austria; and when the Austrians returned the Poles accused the Jews of having been friendly to the Russians. This anti-Jewish prejudice was diligently fostered by political agitators, and in several places by Catholic priests, with the result that as soon as the Poles felt they were masters in their own home, they began attacks upon their Jewish neighbours. These attacks took different forms: in most places they were assaults by townsfolk, peasants and bandits upon Jewish dwellings and shops for the single purpose of plunder, whilst in others they took the form of military expeditions organised to punish alleged Jewish disloyalty towards the Polish State. But to whatever category these onslaughts belonged, the result

was the same in quality and differed only in the degree of disaster.

*The Jewish
Self-Defence
Corps.*

So far as the purely civilian excesses were concerned the Jews could have defended themselves had they been allowed to do so. They organised a militia or self-defence corps in various towns, recruited from Jewish officers and soldiers, but these corps were not permitted to exist long enough to be of any use. The largest Self-Defence Corps was that created by the Jews of Cracow, who, as soon as they heard of the threatened disorders in neighbouring towns, took prompt measures, with the approval of the Polish Liquidation Commission, the Provisional Government established on October 28, 1918, for the parts of Austria claimed by the Poles. A Jewish Military Committee was formed, which issued the following announcement :—

In agreement with the Polish Liquidation Commission, the Jewish Military Committee undertake the task of organising a Self-Defence Corps out of Jewish officers and soldiers, for the purpose of protecting Jewish life and property in Cracow and the Provinces. This Self-Defence Corps will be placed under the Polish Military Command in Cracow.

We therefore call upon all Jewish officers and soldiers, as well as all volunteers, who have at heart the welfare of Jewry, to report immediately at the barracks of the Reserve of the Jewish Self-Defence, in Wolnitza Street. Recruiting takes place from 8 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock in the evening. With the consent of the Polish Liquidation Commission active soldiers and officers may also join this Reserve.

For the Jewish Military Committee :

(Sgd.) MORITZ FREUDLICH,
Captain, Engineer.
TOBIAS WECHSLER,
Captain.
JOSEPH SCHONBERG,
Captain.

For the Jewish National Council :

(Sgd.) DR. OSIAS THON,
DR. HENRYK SCHREIBER,
DR. JOSEF MARGULIES.

For the Polish Liquidation Committee :

(Sgd.) COUNT LASOCKI,
Chairman of Administrative Committee.
WLADIMIR TETMAYER,
Chairman of the Military Committee.

The Jewish Military Committee succeeded in organising a force of about one thousand men, and despatched armed detachments to several towns. But only in a few cases were these militia bands able to render any effective aid, for they were disarmed and disbanded by order of the Military Authorities, who issued the following notice :—

The Jewish detachments that have been armed, and are still being organised independently and without previous knowledge or assent of the Polish Command, have been dissolved by order of the Polish Military Command ; the weapons must, under the personal responsibility of the organisers of the Jewish detachments, be delivered by the 15th inst. (Nov.) to the nearest Polish Commands.

The officer responsible for the issue of this order was General Roja, who was in command of the troops that afterwards made the worst pogrom of all, that at Lemberg.

The dissolution of the Jewish militia deprived the Jews of all means of defence against their assailants, and as in most cases they were also prevented from joining the Civil Militia, and the latter actually took a leading part in the rioting, their position became utterly helpless. The result was an outburst of savagery that has left an indelible stain upon the first pages of the history of the resurrected Polish State. The extent and nature of this barbarous eruption can be seen from the following list of one hundred and thirty towns and villages in Poland and Galicia in which pogroms and other anti-Jewish excesses occurred in November and December, 1918, and January, 1919. It is impossible here to give a full account of each outrage ; a summary must suffice.

LIST OF THE TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN POLAND AND GALICIA IN WHICH POGROMS AND OTHER ANTI-JEWISH OUTRAGES OCCURRED IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1918, AND JANUARY, 1919.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
ANDRYCHOW	.. Nov. 5.	Looting and assaults, mostly by well-to-do peasants. 26 Jewish families robbed of everything. Police refused to intervene.
BACZKOW	.. Nov.	Assaults.
BARANOW	.. Nov. 8.	Shops broken open and looted. Town militia remained passive, then fired at Jewish Self-Defence Corps.
BLAZOWA	.. Nov. 2.	Plundering and violent assaults.
BLUZOW	.. Nov.	Plundering, houses set on fire, women outraged.
BOCHNIA	.. Nov. 3, 4, 7.	Plundering, assaults, desecration of synagogue, destruction of 2 scrolls of the Law.
BOJANOW	.. Nov.	Assaults.
BRODLE	.. Nov.	Plundering.
BRZESKO	.. Nov. 12- 14.	Assaults, looting and murder by armed peasants from village of Jadowniki, who brought with them carts to remove plunder. The District Commandant tried to intervene, but was rendered powerless by mob. Detachment of 30 Jewish Militiamen from Cracow disarmed by Polish legionaries, who took active part in pogrom. Several houses set on fire; fugitives were shot at. 8 Jews killed (including two soldiers and one man thrown under passing train) and 8 seriously injured. 376 Jews robbed; estimated damage 20 million crowns (about £800,000 pre-war rate).
BRZEZIN	.. Nov.	Murder of a Jewish family, defilement of the corpses.
BRZEZNICA	.. Nov.	Plundering.
BRZOWOW	.. Nov. 2, 25, 26.	Assaults and looting by armed peasants provided with carts. Local Militia, after receiving 10,000 kronen on Nov. 23 to maintain order, disappeared when pogrom began. 104 Jewish families completely robbed; damage, a few million kronen.
BUKOWSKA	.. Nov.	Assaults.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
CHIRZANOW	.. Nov. 6-7.	Assaults and robbery by peasants and local populace. Jewish Self-Defence disarmed by Polish legionaries, who participated in pogrom. Jewish Militia from Cracow compelled to return. 2 Jews killed, 28 injured. Estimated damage, 12½ million kronen (about £520,000). After the pogrom the newly-formed Town Council, under the pressure of the rioters, demanded surrender by Jews of goods to the value of 150,000 kr. as security for their lives.
CHYROW	.. Nov. 25.	Plundering by band of 80 soldiers under command of officer. Sick rabbi taken with bed into street in bitter cold; robbed of all. Over 100 girls and women stripped of boots and stockings, forced to march to Felsztyn and compelled in turn to wade into ice-cold stream to bring out gun thrown by commanding officer.
CZECHOW	.. Nov. 5.	Plundering and assaults.
CZERNICHOW	.. Nov.	Plundering.
CZUDEC.	.. Nov. 2.	Plundering. Rabbi severely injured.
DEMICA	.. Nov.	Assaults.
DOBROW	.. Nov. 15.	40 Jewish families robbed; Militia participated in looting.
DEBNA ..	.. Nov.	All Jews completely robbed.
DUBIECKO	.. Nov. 3.	Assaults.
DOMBROWA (near Tarnow)	.. Nov. 4, 12-13.	Plundering; bestial attacks, several injured.
DOBCZYCE	.. Nov. 2-3.	Plundering and assaults by deserters, bandits and well-to-do peasants. Two deserters killed by Militia. Polish legionaries brought from Myslowice to protect Jews, who paid for their help.
DYNOW..	.. Nov. 3, 5.	Plundering and assaults by local populace and neighbouring villagers, under leadership of Wladislaw Szyra. Educated class intervened in vain. Names known of 207 rioters. 96 Jews injured (including 7 old men assaulted and injured in the synagogue, and one man thrown into River San). 217 Jews robbed; estimated loss, 5,600,000 kr. (about £230,000).

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
DZIALOSZCE	.. Nov. 12, 18.	Plundering and assaults by armed mob, who disarmed Polish Militia. which then joined in the looting, Jewish Self-Defence given guns and then disarmed. <i>One Jew killed.</i> 24 houses completely looted.
GAWLOWKA	.. Nov. 7.	Plundering and assaults.
GILOWCE	.. Nov.	Plundering and assaults.
GDOW ..	.. Nov.	Plundering, assaults, destruction of property.
GORKA ..	.. Nov.	lujurious assaults, extensive looting.
GRABOWICE	.. Nov. 3.	Attacks on Jewish houses with bombs and hand-grenades, looting and assaults.
GROCHOW (near Ponezew)	.. Nov. 17.	The only Jewish family attacked by villagers and <i>murdered</i> , viz.: Aron Grochower, wife and three sons.
GRODZISKO	.. Nov. 4, 17.	Plundering and assaults by peasants with the aid of Polish legionaries. Many Jews injured and houses damaged.
GRZEBOW	.. Nov. 13- 15.	Plundering and assaults; many houses demolished and furniture destroyed. Several persons injured, including children. 26 Jews robbed of everything. A company of legionaries arrived on Nov. 16 for the protection of the Jews, but left again on the 18th. The Polish Liquidation Commission declared that it had no soldiers to send.
HUCISKO	.. Nov.	Assaults.
IMPINIE	.. Nov.	Assaults.
IWONICZ	.. Nov. 2.	Looting and savage assaults by band of 150 armed peasants led by Commandant of Town Militia.
JAMNICE	.. Nov.	Plundering and assaults.
JANOW ..	.. Jan. 8.	Plundering and assaults.
JAROSLAW	.. Nov. 15.	Jewish Militia disarmed by Commandant of city, Col. Jakosz. Plundering of Jewish shops and dwellings, search for arms in synagogue.
JASLO ..	.. Nov. 7.	Burning of Jewish houses. Search for arms in synagogue. Jews excluded from Town Militia.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
JAWORZNO	.. Nov. 5-6, 18.	Plundering and assaults. Jews could get no arms for self-defence, and Town Militia said it had no order to protect them. In January all 9 members of Town Council compelled to resign, and populace demanded exodus of entire Jewish community within a fortnight.
JEDLICZ	.. Nov. 7.	All Jewish houses and shops robbed, 4 houses burnt down.
JELESNI (dist. Zywiec).	.. Nov. 13.	Robbery and assaults. Priest who intervened on Jews' behalf abused.
JEZOW ..	.. Nov.	40 Jewish families robbed of everything, beaten, compelled to take flight.
KUROW..	.. Nov. 13.	Plundering and assaults.
KALWARYA	.. Nov. 7.	Plundering by peasants of Strzyzow (Wadowice). The head of village refused to protect the Jews. On Nov. 9 Gendarmerie and Jewish Militia came, an inquiry was held, and 8 robbers confessed.
KIELCE..	.. Nov. 11.	Plundering and violent assaults. 4 Jews killed, about 250 injured. The pogrom was started by Deputy-Commandant of Town Militia, who led attack upon Jewish meeting held in theatre to celebrate Poland's independence.
KOCIERZ (dist. Zywiec).	.. Nov. 13.	Plundering, assaults, damage to property.
KOLBUSZOWA	.. Nov. 1-4.	Plundering of houses and shops; gendarmes helpless. Not until Nov. 4, after the third call of a Jewish deputation, did Court Councillor Dr. Czarny, the virtual Mayor, agree to form militia. The Polish educated classes, when threatened themselves, organised 100 armed men.
KOMAROWKA (near Biala).	.. Nov. 30, Dec. 6.	Imprisonment, flogging of Jews on naked body, extortion.
KONCZYSKA	.. Nov. 4.	Plundering and assault. Town militia obstructed by populace.
KOSZAROVA	.. Nov.	Plundering by organised bands, as well as in neighbouring villages.
KRESZOWICE	.. Nov.	Houses and shops broken open and looted.
LAPY ..	.. Nov.	Imprisonment, robbery, flogging of Jews on naked body.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
LASI ..	.. Nov. 12.	The only Jewish family, shopkeepers (parents, daughter, 3 grand-children), robbed by peasants and <i>burned to death</i> in their house, which was set on fire.
LASKOWA ..	Nov. 4.	Looting.
LECHOWICE ..	Nov. 13.	Assaults and robbery.
(dist. Zywiec).		
LEMBERG ..	Nov. 22-23; Dec. 29-30.	The most savage and destructive pogrom. A punitive expedition by Polish troops, aided by rabble, against the Jews because of their neutrality in Polish-Ukrainian war. Assaults, robbery, outrage, murder, arson. 73 <i>Jews killed</i> , a few hundred seriously injured; 49 houses and synagogues completely burned to ground. Estimated damage 100 million kronen (over £4,000,000).
LESZICE ..	Nov.	Assaults and plunder.
LIMANOWA ..	Nov. 4.	Plundering and injurious assaults by local villagers.
and vicinity.		
LUKAWICE ..	Nov. 4.	Plundering and assaults.
LUBOMIL ..	Nov. 13.	45 Jewish families completely robbed, many persons seriously injured, 5 <i>killed</i> .
LUTCZA ..	Nov. 8-9.	Plundering and assaults.
MAIDAN ..	Nov.	Assaults.
MIELEC ..	Nov. 1, 7, 8.	Plundering and assaults by band of 100 peasants. Detachment of Jewish Militia, under Lieut. Goldklang, sent from Cracow, disarmed by Polish Militia, which participated in looting. 27 Jews robbed.
MIKLUSZOWICE ..	Nov. 7.	Robbery by local peasants.
MOGILANY ..	Nov. 10.	Attack on Jewish houses by band of 30 deserters.
MORAWICA ..	Nov. 15.	Plundering by 50 armed bandits.
MOSCISKA ..	Nov. 18.	Plundering and assaults. About 300 Jewish families suffered damage of over 500,000 kronen (about £20,000). The local authorities extorted 25,000 kronen (about £1,000) under the pretext of organising a militia service.
MSZANA-DOŁNA ..	Nov. 10.	Plundering of all Jews in the town and neighbouring villages on the occasion of festival celebrating Poland's liberation. Jews excluded from Town Militia.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
NIEDZWIEDZ ..	Nov. 4.	Assault and robbery by peasants ; plundering started after trumpet signal given by Henryk Magierski.
NIESZOTOMICE..	Nov.	Assaults and plunder.
NISKO ..	.. Nov. 16.	Assaults and plunder. Monthly contribution of 20,000 kronen (about £800) demanded.
NIEPOLOMICE ..	Nov. 5.	Plundering of shops and houses, 85 Jews robbed ; damage 2 million kronen (about £83,000).
NISZOWICE ..	Nov.	Plundering and assaults. <i>Jewish girl (aged 20) shot.</i>
OCZKOWICE ..	Nov. 13.	Assaults and plundering.
(Dist. Zywiec).		
OSWIECIM ..	Nov. 9, Jan. 24- 28.	Armed peasants warded off by Jewish Militia ; subsequently attacks in synagogue, violation of Jewish cemetery, demolition of tombstones.
PASZYN ..	Nov. 13.	Looting.
PEWLA-WIELKA	Nov. 13.	Assaults.
PILZNO ..	Nov. 4.	Assaults and robbery. Priest and civil authorities tried to protect Jews and helped to capture ring-leaders. <i>2 Jews killed.</i>
(near Tarnow).		
PREVEL ..	Nov.	Assaults.
PROCHNIK ..	Nov. 6.	Looting and assaults. On Nov. 16 Polish Legionaries came from Jaroslaw, opened Jewish shops, and exacted payment of 500 kronen (about £20) daily for maintenance, alleging that defence was necessary only for Jews.
(Dist. Jaroslaw).		
PROSZOWKA ..	Nov. 7.	Plundering, destruction of furniture, two Scrolls of the Law defiled and destroyed.
(Bochnia).		
PRZEMYSL ..	Nov. 11- 13.	The pogrom was begun after the capture of the city by the Poles, who accused the Jews of having sided with the Ukrainians. Extensive looting and savage assaults. Jewish Self-Defence disarmed by Polish troops, who directed artillery fire upon synagogue. Over 300 Jews kept imprisoned three days without food in Military Hospital. Levy of 3 million kronen (£125,000) demanded. <i>15 Jews killed</i> , many injured. Estimated damage, 2 million kronen (£84,000).

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
PRZEWORSK	.. Nov.	Looting of houses, inmates savagely beaten.
PRZYSIOŁEK	.. Nov. 5.	Assaults, robbery, Jewish houses burned down.
PRZYSZTNICA	.. Nov. 3.	Looting, assaults, 90 Jewish families ruined.
RAJCZA..	.. Nov. 13.	Assaults, robbery. Jews refused permission to form Self-Defence Corps.
RAJNOW	.. Nov.	Assaults.
RADOMYSŁ- WIELKI.	Nov. 7.	Shops broken open and looted, and the goods loaded upon carts. The Priest Lukasinski tried to intervene on behalf of Jews, but Gendarmerie Commandant and Magistrate forbade Town Militia to defend them. Damage, 500,000 kronen (£20,000).
RANIZOW (Dist. Kolbuszowa).	.. Nov. 7.	Assaults and looting by mob led by village-chief Wojciech Stec.
RAWARUSKA	.. Nov. 25- Dec. 15.	Systematic assaults and robbery. 8 Jews deported by soldiers and ill-treated, 3 supposed to have died. All Jews driven out of synagogue one Friday evening, compelled to take off boots and go home barefooted. Lighted candles removed from synagogue by soldiers.
ROPRZYCE	.. Nov. 13.	Plundering and assaults. Jewish Town Councillor (Pinkas Friedrich), aged 70, compelled to strip before Town Hall and given 10 strokes for alleged profiteering.
ROZWADOW	.. Nov. 4- 13.	Assaults and robbery. Populace incited by Polish Priest Okon. Polish officers and legionaries participated in attacks, many Jews injured. Jewish Militia disarmed by Polish National Committee. In the second pogrom the Polish Militia was disturbed by an armed mob. 200 families robbed.
RYMANOW	.. Nov. 4.	House and shops looted by peasants, many well-to-do, and booty removed on carts.
RZESZOW	.. Nov.	Jews applying for permits stripped, robbed and flogged. 2 Jews shot. Local authorities ignored decree of martial law for Rzeszow issued by Cracow Government.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
SANDOWA- WISCHNJA.	Nov. 19.	After Poles captured town about 80 armed legionaries attacked Jewish houses, looting, and assaulting. Jews with long beards beaten and beards cut off. Request of Jews for military protection met with demand for money to buy weapons. <i>One girl died of fright.</i>
SIEDLCE	.. Nov. 10.	<i>Jewish boy of 14 (Zweig), distributing Bund proclamations, was killed by Polish legionaries, who attacked Jewish workman, 10 Jews severely injured.</i>
SIERSZA	.. Nov. 7.	Assaults and robbery by band of 35 peasants, with soldiers participating. <i>One Jew killed.</i>
SKRZYDLANA (Dist. Limanowa).	.. Nov. 4.	Assaults and robbery.
SLENIEN	.. Nov.	Assaults.
SPOTNIA-WIELKI	Nov. 13.	Plundering by nearly entire local population.
STASZOW	.. Nov.	Plunderings.
STRYZOW	.. Nov. 9.	34 Jews plundered.
SULMERGIECZ	.. Nov. 5.	Polish soldiers searched in Jewish houses, even in synagogue-ark, for leather. Jewish leather-dealers deprived of entire stock. Jews excluded from Town Militia.
SZCZAKOWA.	.. Nov. 6.	Looting by mob led by Polish legionaries, who shared the booty. Money demanded of Jews to provide defence. Damage, 3 million kronen (£125,000).
SZLEMIENIEC	.. Nov.	Assaults.
TARNOBRZEG	.. Nov. 13.	Several Jewish families beaten and robbed by mob incited by National Democrat Priest.
TARNOW	.. Nov. 6, 9, 16.	Repeated attacks and looting, finally stopped by Jewish Self-Defence.
TICZYN	.. Nov. 1, 17.	All Jewish shops looted, 33 victims. Assaults, dangerous injuries. Levy of 10,000 kronen (£400) per month demanded of Jews for their security.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
TRZEBINJA	.. Nov. 3.	Riot started on occasion of demonstration celebrating Polish independence, Jewish representative refused hearing. Plunder, assaults, demolition, Jewish shops burned down. Synagogue profaned and Scrolls of Law besmirched. Jewish Militia disarmed, and Polish Militia ordered by authorities to remain passive.
TRZEBNICA	.. Nov.	Assaults.
TUCZEMPIJ	.. Nov. 15-16.	Assault and plunder. <i>Six persons murdered</i> (4 women, a child and an ensign). Formation of Jewish Militia allowed after pogrom.
USTRZYCKI-DOLNE.	Nov. 24.	Polish legionaries threatened to blow up Jewish houses with armoured trains unless given 300,000 kronen (£2,500) within an hour. Received 60,000 kronen, yet, despite Cracow Government's declaration of act as illegal, extorted another 90,000 kronen. <i>One Jew shot.</i>
WARSAW	.. Nov.-Jan.	Assaults, raiding of houses, shops, synagogues; sporadic robbery by soldiers; reckless shooting in Jewish quarter, causing frequent injury; forcing Jews to work at Przejazd Barracks.
WIELEPOLA	.. Nov.	Looting.
WIELKIE-DROGIE	Nov.	Looting.
WISNICZ	.. Nov. 27.	Flogging of 132 Jews on naked body in public by order of Polish Officer.
WLOCLAVEK	.. Jan. 5-8.	Assaults, plundering, searching of synagogue, shooting into Rabbi's house.
WODZISLAW	.. Nov. 18-20.	Assaults and looting by local populace and armed peasants from 8 neighbouring villages (Piotrkow, Laskow, Miaronice, etc.). Military participated in plundering. 80 Jews imprisoned for two days. <i>One Jew killed.</i>
WOJA		
FILIPOWSKA	.. Nov. 8.	Robbery, damage, assaults.
WOJA PRZEMY-KOWSKA (Dist. Orzesko).	Oct. 20-Nov. 7-9.	Attack by armed men on house of Marcus Schwarz, Oct. 20, brutally assaulted him and wife with swords; repeated attacks, Nov. 7-8-9.

<i>Town.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Summary of Outrage.</i>
WYSOKA	.. Nov. 7.	Six Jewish families robbed, assaulted and injured.
ZAMOSC	.. Dec. 29-30.	Assaults and plundering. 175 Jews imprisoned. <i>Two Jews killed</i> , several injured.
ZEBNA ..	.. Nov.	Looting.
ZAKLICZYN	.. Nov. 4.	Plundering of houses and shops.
ZATOR ..	.. Nov. 4.	Plundering of houses and shops, booty removed on carts. Impoverished Jews refused flour by Food Commissioner.
ZAWOJA	.. Nov.	Looting of shops and dwellings.
ZMIGROD	.. Nov. 4.	Looting and wrecking. Polish Militia despatched from Jaslo returned because "it was only a question of Jews." 40 Jews injured.
ZOLYNIA (Dist. Lancut).	.. Nov. 17-18.	Assaults, plundering of houses, breaking of doors and windows. Soldiers sent from Lancut to restore order left after half-an-hour. Mob raided synagogue, <i>killed 80-year-old glazier</i> (Israel Kanon), severely wounded 12 others.

The foregoing summary is based upon reliable reports and upon depositions of eye-witnesses, and however much one might feel inclined to discount some of the more appalling features, the remaining balance presents a disquieting picture of unbridled barbarity. The mere number of places in which excesses occurred is sufficient proof of the prevalence of widespread hostility. In most cases no official reason for the outrage was advanced at the time, nor could one be expected where the riots were committed only by civilians, whether townsfolk or peasants. But in a few cases an attempt was made to justify or palliate the pogrom by accusing the Jews of siding with the Ukrainians in their war with the Poles. Such an accusation was made particularly in the towns of Przemyśl, Ustrzyki, and, above all, and with the most destructive effects, in Lemberg. At Przemyśl, after the Polish legionaries had celebrated the recapture of the town by a pogrom on November 11th and 12th, the Jews were

panic-stricken by the following official order which, on November 17th, was posted on the walls :

NOTICE

to the population of Przemyśl of the Mosaic Confession. In view of the notorious fact that the Jews in the fight for the conquest of Przemyśl, despite their assured neutrality, took part in large numbers on the side of the Ukrainians and shot at the storming Polish detachments, I order the Jewish community to deposit at the District Command of the Polish troops in Przemyśl a guarantee of the amount of three million kronen.

The above guarantee is forfeit in the case of severe excesses of the population of Mosaic Confession against the Polish troops, in favour of the treasury of the Polish troops.

The guarantee must be deposited at the latest by the 21st inst., at 2 o'clock midday.

Should the guarantee not be deposited within the prescribed period, then I shall order my military detachments to take the sum, to the amount of three million kronen, from the Jewish population.

Przemyśl, November 17th, 1918.

(Sgd.) TOKARZEWSKI,
Lieut.-Colonel and District Commandant.

Military The baselessness of the charge that
Exactions. the Jews had fought on the Ukrainian
 side is proved by the fact that just
 before the publication of this order,

the Polish National Council at Przemyśl had posted a proclamation acknowledging the neutrality of the Jews. To have complied with the demand for a "guarantee" would have been a confession of guilt, and would likewise have constituted a breach of neutrality towards the Ukrainians. But as the Jews refused to yield, the Poles began to make preparations for carrying out their threat, and a terrible disaster would have ensued but for the energetic intervention of the Polish National Council at Przemyśl, which was appealed to by the Jewish People's Council. The military authorities at first resented this "interference in military affairs," but adopted a more conciliatory tone when the eighty-year-old Dr. Tarnowski, of the Polish National Council, declared to General Diak : "General, then you will have to order firing at me and the Poles before you let your soldiers loose against the Jews." The demand for money was then dropped, but the Jewish People's Council was required to sign a

declaration assuming personal responsibility for the neutrality of the Jewish population. Even this declaration was repugnant to their sense of pride and honour, and they put their signatures to it only when the Polish National Council undertook to testify that they had done so under compulsion.

Much more truculent was the attitude of the Commander of the troops at Ustrzyki-dolno, who issued the following order :

Command of the Expedition,
Sanok-Chyrow.

To the Jewish Religious Community at Ustrzyki-dolno.

It has now been confirmed that the Jewish population takes part in the fights of the Haidamaks (Ukrainians) against the Polish military, which, by order of the Polish Government, is bringing peace and order into the country.

In consequence of these hostile and criminal actions three of our soldiers have already suffered death. The culprits will be made personally responsible therefor. The Jewish Community, which did not prevent this, has to pay within an hour as a fine, a sum of 300,000 kronen. In case of non-payment, the Jewish houses will be bombarded or blown up with dynamite and the fine be obtained by force.

The officer who presents this document is at the same time authorised to receive and acknowledge the above sum.

Ustrzyki, November 24th, 1918.

SVOBODA, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Commandant of the Expedition.

To enforce his demand the Commandant ordered two armoured trains to steam into the town, and fired three cannon-shots which hit two houses. His emissary then proceeded to collect the levy and made out the following receipt :—

Protocol of the Receipt in accordance with the communication of the Command of November 24th, 1918.

	Kronen.
Received on account, in cash	3,900
25 Red Cross Lottery tickets at 20 kr. ..	500
1 Post Office Bank Book of Frau Sofie Apfel..	2,000
Railway advance for the firm Faltner and Dattner	15,837.82.
3 Austrian War Loan Bonds at 1,000 kr. ..	3,000
Cash from Dr. Sterner & Burgomaster Frankel..	34,100

Total Kronen 59,337.82.

Total in cash and securities,
received for delivery to Lieutenant-Colonel Svoboda.

SZCZEPANOWSKI,
Engineer, Senior Lieutenant.

A delegate of the Ustrzyki Jewish Community went to Cracow to see Count Lasocki, President of the Polish Liquidation Commission, in order to obtain the annulment of Colonel Svoboda's order which he produced. The Count declared that the order was illegal and then retained the document, against the will of the Jewish delegate, to whom he gave a certified copy. But despite Count Lasocki's condemnation of the outrage the Commander of the troops at Ustrzyki repeated his demand for money and extorted another 90,000 kronen.

By far the most terrible of all the *The Lemberg pogroms* was that committed in *Pogrom. Lemberg*. It was political in origin and military in character, and its importance calls for a detailed account. The Jews in Lemberg, anticipating an armed struggle between the Poles and Ukrainians for the possession of the city, determined upon the policy of neutrality. That was the most prudent step they could take in view of all the circumstances, for the contending parties were both as yet only national groups and not recognised States of which the Jews were citizens, and besides it was a purely inter-Slav conflict in which the Jews, if they sided with one party, were sure to be punished by the other, as there are great numbers of Jews under the Ukrainian as well as under the Polish régime. The proclamation of neutrality was made publicly on October 26th, 1918, at mass meetings in Lemberg attended by over 30,000 Jews representing all parties, and the decision was endorsed by a Conference of Galician Zionists, at which 140 delegates were present, on the two following days in the same city. This action of the Jews was bound to prove disagreeable to the Poles, since, under the old Austrian régime, all Jews, without regard to their individual wishes, were registered as Poles, and their declared neutrality now reduced the Polish numbers and weakened the Polish claims to Eastern Galicia. According to the official statistics of 1910 the Poles formed 40 per cent. and the Ukrainians 59 per cent. of the population in Eastern Galicia, the remaining 1 per cent. consisting mostly of Germans. But according to the religious census

of the same year, the Roman Catholics formed 25 per cent. of the population, the Greek Catholics 62 per cent., the Jews 12 per cent., and the Protestants 1 per cent. As all the Poles in Eastern Galicia are Roman Catholics, a comparison of these two returns shows that the Polish 40 per cent. in the national census includes 12 per cent. Jews, whilst the remaining 3 per cent., taken from the Greek Catholics, consists largely of Ukrainian servants entered as Poles by their masters. Under the Austrian régime the Jews in Galicia who defied the Polish officials, and refused to register themselves as Poles, were fined 40 kronen (about 35s.) Now that the Austrian régime was over, and the Jews of Lemberg unanimously declared that they were neither Poles nor Ukrainians but only Jews, they were to be punished, not with a fine, but with a pogrom.

On November 1st, the Ukrainians, by means of their regiments in the *Jewish* dissolving Austrian Army, took possession of all the public buildings in Lemberg, and proclaimed themselves masters of the city. As this was the prelude to a battle with the Poles, the Jews formed a Safety Committee which declared its *Neutrality* in the impending conflict and resolved to take steps for safeguarding the interests of their Community. This Committee elected a Defence Committee, which organised a Jewish Militia for the sole purpose of protecting the lives and property of the Jews. The necessity of this Militia was due to the fact that the Polish forces, hastily organised to drive the Ukrainians out of the city, included many doubtful and even criminal elements, who had not been subjected to any oath and who, it was feared, might combine plunder with patriotism. The neutrality of the Jewish Militia was recognised both by the Ukrainians and the Poles, and formal agreements were made both with the civil and military authorities. The Polish National Committee issued the following notices:—

CERTIFICATE.

We herewith confirm that the Command of the Jewish Militia has declared to the Committee of the United Polish Parties absolute neutrality, and has given notification that it has been

organised for the sole purpose of maintaining order and safety in the quarter inhabited by the Jewish population. The Committee takes note of this declaration, and at the same time puts itself into communication with the Command of the Polish troops, so that it may issue orders that shall regulate the relations and the sphere of activity of this Militia in regard to the Polish troops.

Lemberg, November 9th, 1918.

(Sgd.) Dr. LEONHARD STAHL.

(Sgd.) Dr. ERNEST ADAM.

(Sgd.) Dr. LAZEWSKI.

COPY.

According to the statement of the Jewish Safety Committee there have been organised posts of the Jewish neutral Militia at the following points :— (1) Temple in the Zolkiev quarter : (2) Synagogue in the Boznicza Street : (3) Zolkiewska Street, No. 25 : (4) Blacharska Street, No. 25 : (5) Rzeznicka Street, No. 13.

We beg in the name of the Polish National Committee, that the neutrality of these places shall be respected, and the militia men not be disarmed.

Lemberg, November 9th, 1918.

In the Name of the Polish National Committee.

(Sgd.) Dr. LAZEWSKI, Dr. LEONHARD STAHL,

Dr. ERNEST ADAM.

The agreement with the military authorities was as follows :—

AGREEMENT.

Between the Jewish Militia and the Polish Army in Lemberg, concluded on November 10th, 1918, in Lemberg.

1. The Jewish Militia has the task of maintaining order and public safety in the part of the city occupied by the Jewish population. It may not take part in the fighting, neither on the side of the Poles nor on the side of the Ukrainians.

2. The members of the Militia are armed, have to wear a white armlet on the left arm, and to be provided with a legitimation issued by the Command of the Jewish Militia.

3. The Command of the Jewish Militia shall send in a list of the members of the Militia, as well as notify every three days any changes in the membership of the Militia.

4. The sphere of activity of the Jewish Militia is confined to the following streets : Kleparowska, Weteranow, Pod Deben, Panienska, Zamkowa, Klasztorva, Podwale, Sobieski, Karola Ludwika, Jagiellonska, Kolataja, Kazimierzowska.

5. The Polish troops will observe the neutrality of the Jewish Militia.

(Signed) STANISLAW LAPINSKI, Chief of Staff.

ISIDOR FUCHS, Senior Lieutenant.

Engineer REISS.

Dr. ALEXANDROWICZ, Polish National Committee.

The necessity of the Jewish Militia soon became manifest. The Polish troops that were bent on wresting the city from the Ukrainians comprised many soldiers who began to make attacks on Jewish houses for the purpose of spoil, whilst their officers tried to force Jews into their ranks. Several Jews escaped from the part of the city in Polish hands, and informed the Jewish Defence Committee of what was happening there. The Committee thereupon sent a wireless telegram to President Wilson in the following terms:—

There is a fight in this city between Poles and Ukrainians. The Jews who are quite neutral are suffering the most. The Poles are compelling the Jews to serve with them. We beg for help.

This telegram was sent from Lemberg to Kiev for further transmission, and it was announced in the local papers that it had been dispatched to President Wilson. The forcible mobilisation of Jews then stopped, but the plundering of their houses and murderous assaults continued. The Jewish Militia appealed to the Polish Command to replace the marauding soldiers in the Jewish quarter by more reliable troops, but the request was ignored. As the cries for help became more insistent the Commandant of the Jewish Militia sent a patrol to seize some bandits, and also a second patrol under a white flag to the Polish Command to explain this action. The first patrol, after three hours' fighting, in which there were victims on both sides, succeeded in dispersing the bandits, but the officer in charge of the second patrol, Lieutenant Staub, despite the white flag, was not allowed to make any statement, but was shot dead at a few paces by a Polish officer. The fight with the bandits took place in the city within 100 yards of the Ukrainian front. The Ukrainians therefore made capital of the incident by announcing in their official bulletin of November 18, that Ukrainian detachments, with the help of the Jewish Militia, had driven back Polish forces. The seriousness of this misrepresentation was at once realised by the Jewish Safety Committee, which published a refutation in

the *Lemberger Tageblatt* (November 20), stating that the Jewish Militia had fought only against armed Polish bandits, and had not received any aid from the Ukrainians.

Outbreak and Scope of Pogrom. On November 17th there arrived in Lemberg a Captain H  nri Villaine, alleged to have been sent by the French Minister at Jassy to arrange an armistice. There was a three days' truce,

but the negotiations failed. Fighting was resumed on the 21st, and as the Poles had meanwhile received considerable reinforcements under General Roja, from Cracow, they succeeded in taking possession of the city early on Friday morning, November 22nd. The Polish triumph was followed by the Jewish tragedy. The Jews had had a foreboding of evil, for those who had previously escaped from the Polish side warned their brethren that the soldiers said they would be allowed to plunder in the Jewish quarter for forty-eight hours. The first act of the Polish troops was to disarm the Jewish Militia, officers and men, and imprison them. Then a military cordon was drawn round the Jewish quarter, machine-guns were posted at the top of each street, and systematic looting began. One shop after another was forcibly entered, the iron shutters were broken open by means of guns or hand-grenades, and the windows were smashed. Only Jewish shops were looted: the premises of Poles and Ukrainians were spared. Private dwellings were also raided by armed bands of civilians and soldiers, often led by officers. All who resisted were brutally assaulted or shot, and many women and girls were outraged. The orgy of plunder and massacre continued throughout the 22nd and 23rd November, culminating in the setting fire to several blocks of houses and some synagogues. Those who tried to escape from the burning houses were hurled back again into the flames or shot. I found that all that remains of 49 large many-storied houses in two or three neighbouring streets are charred, crumbling walls. One ancient synagogue was completely burned to the ground, with all its valuable and historic contents, besides some smaller prayer-houses. Three attempts

were made to set on fire the "Liberal Synagogue," from which, so Colonel Maczynski, Commandant of the City, falsely declared, the Jews were shooting with a machine-gun. In the Rabbi's robing-room I still saw three small tins of benzine on the floor, near a scorched door. In the "Suburban Synagogue," which is 300 years old, many valuable historic antiquities—ritual ornaments, scrolls of the Law, Hebrew manuscripts—belonging to the Spanish period, were stolen or destroyed. The acts of vandalism committed during those two days were numerous enough to fill a volume. The casualties, which were originally over-estimated, amounted to 73 persons killed and over 250 injured, 60 of whom were still under treatment, after two months, in the hospital. The material damage is calculated at about 100,000,000 kronen (over £4,000,000), exclusive of the destruction and damage to the synagogues. Over 500 families are homeless, over 2,000 families have been totally ruined, and another 4,000 families have sustained considerable loss.

The responsibility for this terrible *The Question of* outrage is not difficult to establish: *Responsibility.* it rests with the Polish civil and military authorities who, although repeatedly appealed to by Jewish deputations, took no steps to suppress the pogrom until after the lapse of 48 hours. But their guilt does not consist merely in a dereliction of duty. The Lemberg Jewish Relief Committee, which comprises representatives of all sections of the community, has the signed circumstantial statements of eye-witnesses concerning 500 cases in which patrols led by officers took part, and about 2,300 cases in which individual soldiers took part. The names are known of 18 officers and 72 legionaries. I saw various military papers of identity left behind in Jewish houses by marauders, and I have photographs of several. The Polish authorities allege that the only soldiers who participated in the pogrom were men who had secured unlawful possession of uniforms. But the fact is that military officers took away loot in military motor-cars, and in many cases removed it direct to their barracks; that military lorries were used for the transport of

benzine to fire houses and synagogues ; that signed receipts were given by officers for "contributions." The Chief of Staff, Dr. Jakubski, informed a Jewish deputation on the morning of November 22nd : "It is a punitive expedition into the Jewish quarter, which cannot be stopped," and the Mayor, Dr. Steslovitz, declared that he had no official knowledge of the pogrom. Many members of the Fire Brigade who were implored to extinguish the fires stated that they were not allowed to do so until after 48 hours ; and martial law, which should have been proclaimed immediately, was not announced until 48 hours had actually elapsed. General Roja, who was in command of the troops, was soon afterwards recalled, and put into a lunatic asylum ; but circumstantial evidence points to Colonel Maczynski as the evil genius of the pogrom.

Upon the riot subsiding, the Polish authorities realised that some sort of *Official Explanations.* explanation would be expected by the civilised world. They therefore issued a manifesto, accusing the Jews of having attacked the Polish troops, of having poured boiling water over them, and of having shot at them. They also declared, illogically enough, that the pogrom had been committed by convicts who had escaped from prison, or who had been released by the Ukrainians on November 1st, but it was strange that these escaped convicts kept the peace for three weeks and only began their horrible work after the Poles took possession of the city. As a pretence that they were anxious to punish the guilty, the authorities announced that they had arrested 1,500 rioters, of whom 60 per cent. were Ukrainians and 10 per cent. Jews. Whether this statement is true is unknown ; all that is known is, that Jews who were removing their own belongings, including a barrister, Dr. Finkel, were arrested in the streets as thieves, and that the only three persons reported to have been shot for participation in the pogrom bore Polish names.

Various Jewish deputations that waited upon members of the Polish Government received cold comfort. General Pilsudski, the head of the State, replied that

he was no autocrat, and could not issue a manifesto condemning the pogroms except by decision of the Government, and that the Jewish question must await settlement until the meeting of the Polish National Assembly. M. Moraczewski, the Prime Minister, sagely remarked that he would issue a condemnation next time a pogrom occurred. And as for the Polish Liquidation Commission, the Galician Government, it issued a statement, through the Polish Legation in Vienna, declaring that the news published in the Jewish press about alleged systematically planned pogroms in West Galicia had provoked the Polish nation in the highest degree, and that if the Jewish press continued to slander Poland before the world then that which was said in the slanders might happen in reality! Thus, the authorities themselves threatened the Jews with a pogrom if they did not keep silent under their sufferings.

In the face of such impotence and
Continued indifference on the part of the Central
Outrages. Authorities, it is not to be wondered at
that the oppression of the Jews continued, not only in Lemberg, but in many other parts of Galicia and Poland. In Lemberg assaults upon the Jews continued almost uninterruptedly down to the beginning of January. Their houses were forcibly entered daily and nightly by soldiers on the pretence of searching for weapons, but really for the purpose of robbing, which was technically styled "requisition." Jews were seized in the streets and compelled to march to the Polish front to make trenches until the Jewish Relief Committee undertook to supply 500 Jews daily at its own cost. On the night of December 29th a small pogrom was carried out by a fresh contingent of soldiers, of the regiments of General Dovbor Musznitzky, just arrived from Cracow, who drew a cordon round two Jewish streets (Kotlarska and Alembekoff) arrested 200 Jews, plundered their houses, and outraged several girls. A Jewish funeral was one day stopped in the streets by soldiers who wished to see whether any weapons were hidden in the coffin; and a body of soldiers went to the Jewish cemetery, dug open the graves of thirty victims of

the November pogrom, likewise on the pretence of searching for arms, and completed their work by flinging mud upon the desecrated dead.

In order to keep up the fiction that *Hostages and Scapegoats* the Jews had violated their neutrality, the Military Commandant, General Rozvadovsky, had four Zionist leaders arrested in their beds on December 10th, and kept them interned at Baranow for four weeks, until an inquiry from the British Government led to their transference to Cracow, where they had to report every second day to the police. (Thanks to the intervention of Colonel Wade, whom I interested on their behalf, two of these Zionist leaders, Dr. Leon Reich and Dr. Michael Ringel, were afterwards permitted to leave Cracow and proceed to Paris, to lay before the Peace Conference the wishes of Galician Jewry.) Moreover, although the members of the Jewish Militia who were imprisoned at the outbreak of the pogrom were afterwards released, several of them were again imprisoned without any charge, and despite the decision of the Examining Judge that they should be freed, because they were innocent of any offence, they were kept in gaol, down to the day of my departure, by order of the Military Commandant. A secret circular was issued by the Commander of the Civil Militia to all members, declaring that the honour of the Polish nation and the honour of the City of Lemberg required that evidence should be forthcoming of the hostile attitude of the Jews, and a notorious police spy, Lukomski, formerly in the Austrian service, a man with a shady past, was engaged to assist in finding the evidence that should whitewash the stained escutcheon of the Polish Army. It is in such an atmosphere of enmity that the Jewish Relief Committee has to discharge its difficult task of finding food, clothing and shelter for the thousands who have been impoverished by the pogrom, but even its labours of mercy are looked at askance by the military authorities, who have forbidden it to be called "Relief Committee for the Victims of the Pogrom," and ordered it to change its name to "Relief Committee for the Victims of the November Disorders." The Jewish paper *Chwila*, printed in Polish,

is also forbidden to use the word pogrom in its columns. In this way the Polish Command naively believes that it can wipe out of existence the memory of the great outrage. It has not even stopped at threatening with court-martial the President of the Jewish Relief Committee, Dr. Tobias Ashkenazi, formerly Deputy Mayor of Lemberg, who has displayed a singular bravery in charging the military authorities with responsibility for the continued terrorism under which the Jewish community lives.

The gravity of the position of the *The Government* Jews in Poland is considerably increased by reason of the attitude of the *Attitude.* State authorities, who, even three months after the outbreak of the first pogrom, not only refrained from condemning these excesses and punishing their authors, but persisted in declaring that they had been maliciously exaggerated by enemies of the Polish State. But when I spoke with various members of the Government about the manifold cases of outrage and oppression that had come under my personal notice, I was told that these were the outcome not of the policy of the Government, but of the hostility of the people, who had been incensed against the Jews for having been pro-German and having profiteered in the war. Whatever truth there might be in this charge, it could apply only to comparatively few, and in any case it could not justify a wholesale indulgence in assaults, pillage, and murder. On the other hand, it is undeniable that numerous prominent Poles, such as Prince Lubomirski, Prince Radziwill, Count Roniker, Archbishop Kakowski, and Dr. Brudziński (the Rector of the Germanised Warsaw University), rendered the Germans far more valuable services than any the Jews could possibly have done; and it is notorious that the Polish landowners and farmers profited very handsomely through war dealings. But one cannot expect logic to assert itself against racial enmity, especially when this has been fanned for decades by such an inveterate Anti-Semite as M. Roman Dmowski and his party. Sometimes I met with a grudging admission that there had indeed been riots, but it was urged that they could

not be prevented in the present state of transition and organisation. Such was the view advanced by M. Wassilevski, who said that although the Government could not exercise any effective control over distant towns, there was perfect order and tranquillity in Warsaw. I had not been in the capital more than three days at the time, but I was able to inform M. Wassilevski of so many cases of outrage upon the Jews in Warsaw, that he excused himself by saying that he was the Minister for Foreign Affairs, not for Home Affairs.

I was indeed astonished at the state of lawlessness that seemed to prevail in Warsaw. Soldiers repeatedly raided houses and shops in the Jewish quarter on the pretext of searching for weapons, and "requisitioned" money, valuables, and anything useful. At night it was a regular custom for the soldiers patrolling the Jewish streets to fire their guns recklessly, as though at some invisible foe, with the result that the inhabitants were kept in a state of panic. The excuse advanced for this practice was that the Jews were always shooting from behind windows at the innocent soldiers, and when I asked Count Sczeptycki, Chief of the General Staff, whether any soldier had yet been shot by a Jew he replied that though the Jews fired they missed. On Sunday afternoon, January 19th, there was a regular siege of the Jewish quarter by soldiers, which was also explained as having been provoked by a Jewish attack upon a legionary. It is, indeed, remarkable that after all these countless attacks not a single Jewish aggressor has yet been hunted down. Even the great Synagogue in the Tlomackie Street is not free from military attention. The vaults below the Synagogue are let to a Polish firm, which stores goods there, and the Government, in its campaign against speculation and forced prices, has put an embargo on the goods and stationed sentries round the Synagogue. The sentries have converted one of the Synagogue offices into a guard room, to which they take prostitutes at night, and the Rabbi, Dr. Poznanski, who lives behind the place of worship, is often compelled to ask for a military permit so as to reach his own house.

*Requisite
Remedies.*

This story of wrongs could be considerably prolonged, but sufficient has already been told to illustrate the gravity of the situation, and to demonstrate the necessity of prompt and drastic remedies. The first thing necessary is an unconditional condemnation by the Government of the pogroms and the bringing to justice of those responsible for them. M. Paderewski, shortly after his creation as Prime Minister, promised me that the Government would publish such a condemnation, but unless the authors of the excesses are punished they will not be restrained from repeating their barbarities. Furthermore, the Government must provide ample compensation for the victims of the pogroms, and also undertake the restoration or rebuilding of all Jewish houses, synagogues, and shops that have been damaged or demolished. The Government must adopt a stern stand against the campaign of Anti-Semitism that prevails throughout the land: it must preach tolerance to the officers of its Army and forbid newspapers to indulge in abuse and provocation. General Pilsudski candidly admitted to me that the Poles were no philo-Semites, and the only hope he held out was that the present anti-Jewish hostility could not last; but his countryman, M. Dmowski, the head of the Polish National Committee in Paris, has disseminated the seeds of Anti-Semitism so long and systematically, that the prospect of improvement seems distressingly remote. On the other hand, M. Paderewski assured me that he would keep the promises he made to Jewish leaders in America, that he would use all his influence to secure just and generous treatment of the Jews; but it is of unhappy omen that the passage of the speech he delivered, shortly after his return to Warsaw, in the Town Hall, in which he appealed for a cessation of hostilities on the ground of race or religion, was omitted from the reports in nearly all papers.

*The Need of
Jewish
National
Rights.*

But something more substantial and radical, something constitutional, is required if the position of the Jews in Poland is to be permanently improved. They have been given civil equality,

we are told, but the value of this equality can be gauged from the oppression under which they are suffering. They can elect their representatives to the Polish Parliament, we are told; but the electoral geometricians have carved out the constituencies so ingeniously that, by amalgamating every dense Jewish townlet with a wide expanse of Polish county, the urban Jewish majority is in most cases converted into an electoral minority. There is only one way in which the civil equality of the Jews can be preserved, and that is by their being given the rights of a national minority. The Jews should be given autonomy so far as the administration of their religious, cultural, social and charitable affairs are concerned; but they should also be constituted a separate electoral college with the right to proportional representation in the Polish Parliament. And in order to establish a good working understanding between them and the Government, it is advisable that there should be a Secretariat of Jewish Affairs, the head of which should be responsible to a representative Council of the organised Jewish communities. The Jews in Poland number 3,000,000 and form 15 per cent. of the total population*; in many towns they form half of the population, and in others much more than half; they have an Oriental culture, a traditional mode of life, which cannot be broken up by forced methods; and the antagonism felt towards them by the Poles will not diminish until the latter become better educated and more accustomed to liberal institutions. These, in brief, are some of the reasons why the Jews in Poland require different political treatment from that of the Jews in Western countries.

Now, when the Polish Constitution is in the making, is the time to bring about an effective and just solution of the Jewish question in Poland.

The Peace Conference should devote to it at least the same earnest attention as will be given to the welfare of African colonies, but it will not show a proper appreciation of the importance and complexity of the question unless it permits recognised representatives of Polish Jewry to submit their own case. For

whilst I am fully conscious of the zeal and diligence of the leaders of the Jewish politico-philanthropic organisations of the West, I doubt whether they fully understand the conditions of existence of Polish Jewry or can correctly interpret its sentiments and desires. The satisfactory settlement of the question must appeal to the Peace Conference both on humanitarian and utilitarian grounds, for the Jews of Poland are yearning to enjoy the ideals of peace and liberty emblazoned on the banners of the Allies, and if they are denied the fulfilment of this simple wish in the free and independent Polish Republic, they will be compelled to wander forth in hundreds of thousands and crave asylum in the Western lands that will be sufficiently preoccupied with problems of their own. The Associated Powers will then be driven to concern themselves anew with the Polish question, which will steadily increase in difficulty and complexity as its just and equitable solution is delayed.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Latest Pogroms.

A fresh cyclone of pogroms in Poland broke out early in March, and is still continuing. It has swept over the towns of Schidlow, Pazanow, Stopnitz, Dabrowo, Chmelnik, Busk, Wielun, Czenstochau, Kalisch, Pinsk and Lida. At Busk (March 12th), there were assaults and looting of shops, damage being done to the extent of 11,500,000 kronen (about £475,000). At Wielun (March 18th), there were also savage assaults and looting, and the synagogue was searched for arms. At Kalisch (March 10th), the Jews were brutally assaulted, their houses and shops plundered, and the "Chassidim" Synagogue attacked; one Jew was killed and several wounded. At Schidlow, the losses amounted to 600,000 roubles (£60,000 pre-war rate). At Stopnitz, the pogrom lasted five days. The most barbarous outrage was that at Pinsk, where, on April 5th, a meeting of Jews, assembled in the Jewish People's Hall to discuss arrangements for the distribution of Passover provisions (supplied by the American Food Commission), was surrounded by Polish troops on the pretext that it was a Bolshevik gathering. Eighty Jews were arrested, assaulted and robbed, and then fifty-six of them were placed against the wall and massacred by a machine-gun mounted on a military car. The Polish authorities at first maintained that the victims had been Bolsheviks. But the officer responsible for this butchery, Major Luczynski, was afterwards declared to have made "mistake," and was re-called, though he has not yet been punished. The Premier, M. Paderewski, has issued a belated protest against the pogroms, but until the military malefactors are punished as they deserve and the Government takes other energetic measures, there is little probability of a cessation of the excesses.

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